

LETTER  
FROM  
A Minister of State at *TURIN*,  
TO A  
GENERAL-OFFICER,  
Relating to the EXPEDITION into  
PROVENCE,  
And SIEGE of  
THOULON.

ALSO

The Motives that engag'd his *Royal Highness* and Prince *EUGENE* in that Stupendous Undertaking, the Reason of its Miscarriages, and the unavoidable Necessity the *CONFEDERATES* lie under of numerous Reinforcements the next Campaign, in order to Penetrate into the Bowels of *FRANCE*. With Private *Memoirs*, *Speeches*, &c. of His *Royal Highness*, Prince *EUGENE*, and the other *General-Officers* in both Armies. Being an *Exact Journal* of the whole Proceedings while that Great *DESIGN* was carrying on; and an *Impartial Account* of the Advantages and Disadvantages on both Sides.

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Done from a *French Copy* transmitted from the *Hague*.

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*The Second Edition.*

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A Minister of State

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**Y**OUR Excellency's on the first Instant came to my Hands, and has met with the Respects due to your Illustrious Character. The Answer to it should indeed have reach'd you sooner, but what, through the Necessity I was under of revising a Journal that was written off Hand, and the Desire I had of giving your Excellency all imaginable Satisfaction in every Particular you are Inquisitive about, oblig'd me to take up more Time than a just Deference to your Commands would have otherwise permitted me. But, not to make use of Prolixity to a Person, whose very Moments of Retirement are laid out for the Publick Service, I shall beg the Favour, without any farther Apology, to break into my intended Journal, which I shall begin with the Councils of War held at *Turin* for opening the Campaign, and the Result of them, which will lead you into the Particulars of our late Unsuccessful Expedition.

His Royal Highness had no sooner heard, by a Courier from *Milan*, that Prince *Eugene* had Orders from *Vienna*, to make a Detachment of 15000 Men for *Naples*, but order'd his Council to be summon'd, at which assisted the Foreign Ministers, and where the Duke declar'd his Dissatisfaction, with the Resolutions of the Imperial Court, as tending to weaken an Army that would otherwise be victorious in all Human Probability, and would touch France in the most sensible Part, should it pay her a Visit in her own Territories. This was seconded by his Royal Highnesses first Minister of State, the Marquis of *St. Thomas*, who represented, That the Kingdom of *Naples* must fall of course into the Imperialists Hands, should the Confederate Forces meet with Success in *Dauphiny*, or any other Contiguous Province; and that such an Expedition requir'd a very numerous Army, which would of Course weaken those of the two Crowns by Detachments from *Spain* and *Flanders*, and put a Stop to the Ravages Marshal *Villars* made in the Circles of the Empire; which would enable the Confederacy to be Victorious in other Parts, though his Royal Highnesses Arms should meet with any Stop (which he could not foresee) to their farther Progress; and that his Affection to the Common Cause, which his Master was so glorious a Defender of, oblig'd him to move, that a Courier should be sent to his Royal Highnesses Envoy at *Veinna* forthwith, to remonstrate to the Imperial Court, the Necessity there was for that intended Detachment design'd for *Naples* to join his Grand Army, that his Royal Highnesses, and the Troops of his Allies might be enabled to prosecute their Designs in such a manner, as should effectually defeat those of the Common Enemy. The

Foreign Ministers were all of the same Opinion with the Duke of Savoy and his Council, except the King of Spain's Envoy Extraordinary, who not only oppos'd the Resolutions that were taken against the March of the Imperialists into *Naples*, but insisted strenuously, that other Detachments ought to be made from the Grand Army to support his Masters just Pretensions to the Possession of that Kingdom. But Matters were so fully carried against him, that Instructions were drawn up for those in Publick Characters at the Court of *Vienna*, to make such Representations to his Imperial Majesty, as were agreeable to the Consultations held at *Turin*, and Couriers were dispatch'd, with Orders to wait upon Prince *Eugene* at *Milan*, with his Royal Highnesses Desires, that he would give him his Presence, and those of his General Officers, at a Grand Council of War to be held at a Time prefix'd. Prince *Eugene* came accordingly with his Imperial Majesty's last Orders for the March of the before-mention'd Detachment; for the Council at *Vienna* were so earnest for the Reduction of *Naples*, that neither the Solicitations of her Britannick Majesty's Ministers, the Earl of *Manchester* and Sir *Philip Meadows*, the repeated Endeavours of the Marquis *de Pie* and Monsieur *Rechtercn*, his Royal Highnesses and the Dutch Envoys, had any manner of Prevalence with the Imperial Court.

Yet, notwithstanding these Proceedings at *Vienna*, might have made such Impressions upon the Councils at *Turin*, as might have turn'd to the Disadvantage of the Confederacy; His Royal Highness, to shew his Ardent Affection for the Common Good, and the Desire he had to reduce *France* to its just Bounds, insisted upon acting Offensively without the *Neapolitan* Detachment, and penetrating into the Enemies Country, without any farther Delay. The Point to be discuss'd was, whether they were to enter *France* by *Provence* or *Dauphiny*. Prince *Eugene* was wholly for the latter, and alledg'd such Reasons for it as might have prevail'd, as the Probability of succeeding in that Enterprize, from his Royal Highnesses Expeditions into those Parts in the late War, and the little Resistance he met with, which would have rendred him the full Possession of that rich Province, had not the Hand of Providence interpos'd and visited him with Sickness, to the Disappointment of that Glorious Project. To this was objected on the side of Great Britain and Holland, by their respective Envoys; that, as it was true, his Royal Highnesses Troops had gain'd such and such Advantages, and would in all Probability have made an entire Conquest of that Country, but for the Accident aforesaid; so it was not to be suppos'd, but the Enemy had taken Precautions on that part to prevent any future Invasions; and that they were Masters of too much Circumspection not to make use of so many Years as were elaps'd since that Expedition, in strengthening their Avenues, providing for the Security of their Passes, and fortifying their Towns, so as to enable them to disappoint any future Attempts. But that it was otherwise with *PROVENCE*, which was more unprovided, and must of Course be under less Apprehensions of an Invasion on that side, because such Hostilities had never been committed against it. To this was urg'd, the Riches  
and



and Fertility of the Country, the great Stores that had been amass'd there for the Sea and Land Services, the multitude of Shipping that would fall into their Hands by the Reduction of Thoulon and Marfeilles, the Magazines at those places, and at Arles, and whatsoever else might be of any Weight or Cogency to put forward an Enterprize that would be attended with such Glorious Consequences, as hindring the French from putting a Fleet of Ships to Sea again, or appearing with any Naval Armament on their Neighbouring Coasts, which they had more than once insulted to the Experience of Genoa, and other Maritime Towns. Which Arguments carried full Conviction with them, that his Royal Highness was pleas'd to declare, That the Obligations He and the whole Confederacy lay under to the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General were so very great; and the Assistance those two Powers had given him in his last Necessities so important in the Success, that was the Consequence of it; that he would yield up his Sentiments, whatever they might be, to those of her Majesty and their High Mightinesses, and shew his utmost Regard to such Councils, as were deservedly famous through all Europe, for the Happy Events that flow'd from them. Prince Eugene, and the rest of those that were of a contrary Opinion before, gave up all manner of Opposition, and not only acquiesc'd in his Royal Highnesses Resolves, but were so fully appriz'd of the Wisdom of those Potentates that propos'd the March into Provence, as to move for drawing the Troops together immediately for that Purpose. Accordingly the Rout of the Imperialists and Milanois was fix'd, a Rendezvous for the Conjunction of the whole Army appointed; and every thing dispos'd for entering upon Action, as soon as Opportunity should offer it self; and sufficient Preparations be made to carry on so Glorious an Undertaking.

In Pursuance of this, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, gave Orders for the Troops under his Command to leave their Quarters; Colonel Wartman did the like to the four Regiments of Saxe-Gothans, in the Montferrat, during the Absence of the Prince of that Name, who was then in Germany; and all the National and Auxiliary Forces in the Milaneze were in a full March for the Place of Encampment that was marked out for them; where they were no sooner arriv'd, but all the Generals were again commanded to Court, to hold another great Council of War. And here it was propos'd by the Duke of Savoy, for the greater Secrecy of this intended Expedition, that part of the Army should break up for Susa, under the General Visconti, to make a Feint, as if the main Drift of the Design was to invade Dauphiny, which was approv'd by the whole Board. After which, Ammunition and sufficient Magazines being provided for the use of the Army, immediately all the Officers were order'd to their Respective Posts and Prince Eugene's Equipage being arriv'd in the Camp at Busca, his Highness left Turin the 30th of June early in the Morning; soon after which his Royal Highness, his Servants and Baggage set out for the Head Quarters, part taking the Road for Susa, and part that

of *Comi*, to amuse the Enemy. When his Royal Highness having settled the Affairs of the Regency during his Absence, and receiv'd the Compliments of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, spoke to the Deputies that came to make a Tender of their Vows for a successful Campaign, and his safe Return, to this Effect; *That he was going upon the Execution of a Design that was of the highest Consequence to his own and the Confederate Interest; that he was so well satisfied of the Fidelity and Love of his Subjects, that he made no Doubt, but all of them in their respective Stations would demean themselves in such a manner, as to make appear, that though their Prince was oblig'd to be absent, there would be nothing wanting to the well Government of his Principality; that in Order to this he had left the Reins of Sovereignty in the Hands of his dear Consort the Duchess, who was to be assisted by the Marquis of St. Thomas, and the Count de la Tows, which two faithful Ministers he had deputed to stay behind him for that Purpose; and as he had hitherto in all his Undertakings consulted his own Glory, and that of his Confederates, so he would continue (by the Assistance of that God, who he hop'd would make him an Instrument, not only to drive the Common Enemy out of his Dominions, but follow him into his own) to take such Measures as should redound to the Good of his Subjects, the Advantage of his Allies, and the Reduction of a Power into just Bounds, that was so imposthumated with Greatness, since the Union of Spain with France, as requir'd a speedy Incision, without which the Liberties of Europe would be in as much Danger, as those of his own Oppress'd Subjects. To this he was pleas'd to add, That he was under no small Concern, that the present War had forced him to draw such large Subsidies from his faithful Subjects; but that he had all imaginable Reason to conclude, that the Consequences of it would terminate in a lasting and durable Peace, which would not only recompence the Charges they had been at for its Purchase, but enable them to make such a Figure in the World, as should make Prince and People, not only the Terror of their Enemies, but the Esteem of their Friends.*

When having recommended his Subjects of all Degrees to the Divine Protection, he mounted on Horse-back, and took the Road of *Susa* under a Tripple Discharge of all the Artillery upon the Ramparts, being attended by his Duchess, the Princes of the Blood, and his whole Court, several Miles out of Town; when they took their Leave of each other with all imaginable Tendernefs and Concern for each others Welfare and Prosperity.

His Royal Highness lay that Night at *Villa d'Amores*, a stately House belonging to the Count de *Vernon*, who accompanied him; where he was entertained with the Mask of *Jupiter* and *Lycaon*, by way of Allusion to the Tyrannies of *Lewis XIV.* and nobly treated at the Expence of that Lord. From hence, after he had Notice, that in Obedience to his Commands, part of his Equipage, that was order'd to the Marquis of *Visconti's* Army, had Fil'd off for the County of *Nice*, he cross'd the Country with his Guards and Attendants to a House of the Marquis de *Talaffes*, called *Campagnio Fortunato*, which gave him the same Ac-



commodations as the former, by receiving his Royal Person and Retinue for one Night. Here he had Notice, that the Army, according to his Royal Highnesses Orders to Prince *Eugene*, was in a full March, being 48000 Effective Men, for the *Coll de Tende*, in order to penetrate into *Provence*, and that the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets commanded by Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* lay at Anchor off the Port of *Nissa*, to act in Conjunction with the Land Forces; which made his Royal Highness mount on Horseback by 3 in the Morning to put himself at the Head of his Army, and facilitate the Passage of his Troops through abundance of Passes and Defiles which might have retarded their March, had the Enemy not thought fit to relinquish the Possession. It was 4 in the Evening before his Royal Highness reach'd the place of Encampment, which was in a great Plain, at the Foot of the *Coll de Tende*, where he was receiv'd by the Army drawn up into 2 Lines, the Discharge of the Artillery and small Arms, and all the other Formalities due to a General of his high Rank and Character. After a general Review, the Troops were found in a good Condition, and eager for Action; they had Orders to rest till 2 next Morning, till which time his Royal Highness took up his Head Quarters at the *Torre del-Retiro*, a Castle belonging to the Marquis de *Parella*, Grand Master of the Horse. The General was no sooner Beat for the Troops to be in Motion, but his Royal Highness, attended by Prince *Eugene*, the Prince of *Hesse*, and General *Zumjungen*, put himself at their Head, and led them up the steep Ascent, till all Difficulties were surpass'd, without any Token of Opposition, or making any Stand, but at a sort of a Cassine, which was garrison'd by a Captain and Fourscore Men, which surrender'd at Discretion to Seignior *Albert*, who summon'd it with a Detachment of the like Number. From thence, his Royal Highness, after having receiv'd Information that the *French* had evacuated *Nissa*, order'd a Detachment under the Command of Colonel *Martini*, a *Piedmont* Officer, and made his Entry into it in Person, attended by all the chief Officers where he found all the Commanders of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet waiting his Royal Highnesses Orders and Pleasure; he was pleas'd to give them particular Marks of his Satisfaction in their Arrival in those Parts; and turning to Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* in the most obliging manner, said, *He had waited for this Happy Conjunction of Affairs for more than fourteen Years; and since the Queen of Great Britain and the States General, had done him the Honour of sending their Fleets up so far into the Mediterranean, to act in Consort with him by Land, it should be none of his Fault, if France did not feel, in the most sensible Manner, the Result of those Resolutions that had been taken by him and his high Allies.* Sir *Cloudefly* return'd the Compliment, with Assurances of the Queen his Mistress's Friendship for his Royal Highness, and that she had been pleas'd to lay her Commands upon him, to be observant of whatsoever should be thought of Use by Sea, to forward the Operations at Land. After which, He beg'd the Favour, that his Royal Highness, and the rest of the Generals, would honour him with their Company Aboard the Fleet,

Fleet, which was very graciously complied with; and the Admiral being return'd on Board to make suitable Provisions, that Prince, and the rest of the Illustrious Persons that bare him Company, were handed from the Barge up to the side of the Admiral's Ship, by proper Officers, who were appointed to conduct them.

The Admiral, with the Commadore of the *Dutch*, Captain *Convent*, for Mynheer *Vandergoes* died just after their coming into the Road, receiv'd him at his Entrance, under a Discharge of all the Guns of the Fleet, which was drawn up into a Line for his Receipt; and what with the Artillery, and the Musick of the Kettle Drums and Trumpets, never was seen or heard a more agreeable Confusion. At his entrance into the Cabbin, the Duke found a Guard of Halberdeers plac'd for his Reception, as if he had been at his own Court; and an Elbow-Chair with a Canopy of Velvet over it, for his Royal Highness to seat himself in; and was presented with such Refreshments as are wont to be made use of before Meals. The Time before Dinner was spent in Surveying the Ship, the Number and Largeness of its Artillery, and the Multitude of Hands that were to Work in it; which made his Royal Highness, and the rest of his Illustrious Attendants, give new Instances of their Astonishment at the Strength of the two Maritim Powers; and fell into large Encomiums of the Power and Conduct of the *British* and *Dutch* Nations. Dinner was no sooner ended, at which the Emperor's, the Queen of Great Britain's, the States-Generals, His Royal Highness of Savoy's Health, and the rest of the Sovereigns engag'd in the present War against *France*, were drank to; but, the Signal was given, for a Council of War. The Entertainment provided by Sir *Cloudefly* consisted of threescore Covers, which had such Variety in them, of all sorts of Provisions and Rarities, as made his Royal Highness, in a sort of a Surprize, tell the Admiral, that *If he had paid him a Visit at Turin, he should scarce have had it in his Power to give him a more Magnificent Reception.* This Council was held July 10. And whereas the Enemy had intrench'd themselves very strongly on the other side of the *Var*, a River that was a League distance from *Nice*, by extending their Works above four Miles from the Shore, and these Intrenchments were guarded by six Battalions of Foot, and eight hundred Horse; while Lieutenant-General *Dillon* an *Irishman* was marching with all Expedition to reinforce them with twelve fresh Battalions, it was resolv'd, That the Land Forces should attempt the Passage of the *Var* before those Succours could arrive; while the Admiral undertook to attack the Enemy near the Sea. His Royal Highness soon after was conducted on Shore with the same Ceremony as he came on Board; and having given rich Presents to the Officers and Seamen that attended him, he took Horse for the Van of his Army, which consisted of ten thousand Men. In the mean time, Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* commanded four *British* Men of War, and one *Dutch*, to sail into the Mouth of the *Var*, attended by six hundred Seamen and Marines, in open Boats, under the



the Conduct of Sir *John Norris*. The Men of War came within Musquet-shot of the Enemy's Works, which lay expos'd so to our Fire, that their Cavalry, and many of their Foot gave way. The Admiral himself followed Sir *John Norris* to the Place of Action; and observing the Disorder of the Enemy, commanded him to put to Land, and flank them in their Intrenchments. His Men advanc'd in such an undaunted manner, and seem'd so intrepid and fearless, by tossing up their Hats in the Air, and their loud Halloo's, that the Enemy had not Courage enough to stay for them, but fearing to be surrounded, fled from their Works, and retir'd with great precipitation. His Royal Highness having receiv'd an Account from the Admiral, as well as Colonel *Pietri*, who was left on Board to give notice of their Operations, that the Seamen and Marines were in Possession of the Enemy's Works, order'd his Troops to pass the *Var*, which they did with so great eagerness, that about 100 were driven down by the violence of the Stream, and ten of 'em lost, among which the only Man of Note was the Baron *de Gersdorf*, a Captain of *Hussars* in the Service of the Emperor; which was all the Loss the Confederates sustain'd in forcing a Pass where they expected the most vigorous Opposition. The Troops had no sooner reach'd the other side of the River, and put themselves upon a March, but his Royal Highness had Advice that the Troops which were beaten out of their Intrenchments met with Lieutenant-General *Dillon* coming towards them, within two Leagues of the *Var*; but it was too late to effect what they were coming about; wherefore they turn'd back, to wait the farther Motion of the Confederate Army, which lay till the 14<sup>th</sup> in the Neighbourhood of *St. Laurence*, where his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* took up their Head-Quarters, and were receiv'd with all Demonstrations of Affection that could be shewn to Princes, who came not to enthrall, but deliver a Free People, that by the Laws of Nature and Nations, were not to be subject to Vassalage.

The 13<sup>th</sup> his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene*, with the British Envoy Sir *John Norris*, and my Self, din'd on Board the Admiral; and after Dinner enter'd into a Conference, where, upon mature Deliberation, his Royal Highness was pleas'd to declare, *That since the Queen of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses had earnestly recommended to him the Marching directly to Thoulon, and the losing no Time on the Siege of any Place of less Importance, he was resolv'd to comply with Her Majesty's and the States Generals Proposal, and hop'd for a good Conclusion of the Affair, and the continuance of Her Majesty's and Their Friendship and Assistance, which had encourag'd him to undertake it.* The 14<sup>th</sup> of July our Army continu'd in the Neighbourhood of *St. Laurence*, and Baron *Falkenstein* join'd us with some *Piedmontines* and *Saxe-Gotha* Horse, who were follow'd by the Prince *William Saxe-Gotha*, at the Head of 4000 more; who being just arriv'd from Germany, went immediately to wait upon his Royal Highness, with the Posture of Affairs in those Parts, and the Compliments of the Duke his Brother, and the rest of the Princes of his Family, who were

zealous for the Confederate Interest. The same day the French abandon'd the Castle of *St. Paul*. of which ; because of its advantageous Situation, we immediately took Possession, and found in it four Pieces of Brass Cannon. and six of Iron, with Stores and Ammunition. A Captain with 150 Men were left in Garrison at *St. Laurence*, and 50 in *St. Paul*. The 15th we march'd by *Antibes*, the Garrison of which Place fir'd some Cannon-shot at some of our Men that came nearest to them, without Execution. At the close of the Evening we came to *Pior*, where we rested that Night, and found the Country ravag'd in a terrible manner, to prevent our Subsistence. Hereupon, his Royal Highness issued out Orders, *That the Peasants should be unmolested in their Houses ; That all Inhabitants whatsoever should have the Benefit of his Protection, provided they were not seen in Arms, and kept in their own Habitations ; and whatsoever Provisions were brought to his Camp, should be satisfactorily paid for.* Which was attended with this Consequence, that the Town of *Grace* sent Deputies with a Present of 12000 Crowns, and a great quantity of Provisions ; when they refus'd *Monf. de Sailli* the Loan of 1000, which he would have borrow'd of them for the Service of *France*. The Town of *Vence* also waited upon his Royal Highness by its Representatives, with a Sum of Money, and a Present of Refreshments. But tho' the Troops in his Royal Highness's Pay kept an exact Discipline, I cannot but with Concern and Regret, give *Your Excellency* to understand, That the Auxiliaries acted quite otherwise. The Reason for this is alledg'd, That the Troops of *Savoy* receiv'd their Pay every five Days, and the *Germans* were continu'd in Arrears. Tho' no Inducements, in my Opinion, should have been of force enough to make them deviate from those Sentiments of Gentleness and Humanity that his Royal Highness was agitated by, so far as to plunder Houses, and massacre People, and act like Madmen and Incendiaries. These Violences made his Royal Highness send one of his Aids de Camp, to command them to put a stop to their Depredations ; who instead of giving Ear to the Message he brought them, fell upon him in a most barbarous manner, and shot him to Death : An Insolence insupportable to an Officer of inferior Rank, much less to a Person who was deputed by a Prince, who was of equal Dignity with Crown'd Heads.

The 16th we decamp'd from *Pior*, and march'd to *Cones*, a small Place on the Sea-side, while the Enemy on the Island *St. Marguerite* fir'd hard at us as we pass'd by, but to no purpose. The Baron *Rhebinder*, a Colonel, was sent before with an hundred Horse to *Frejus*, an Episcopal See, to get Bread bak'd for our Army, and learn Intelligence of the Enemy. In the mean while, our Baggage could not keep up with us, in the hard March we made the 16th ; and therefore we continu'd at *Cones* the 17th ; when Colonel *Rhebinder* return'd with his Detachment, and the News, *That Thoulon was put into a good Condition of Defence, by the indefatigable Endeavours of Mons. St. Peter the French Governour : That the New Works were entirely finish'd, and the Place furnish'd with an extraordinary*



many number of Cannon and Mortars, with which a great number of Batteries were made: That they had demolish'd the Suburbs, with all the Houses of Pleasure near the Town; and among others, the beautiful Seat of the Marquis De Souliers, for which the King had promis'd him Reparation; and that all things were put into such a Posture, as to render the Approaches of the Town very difficult. The same Day, a Party of 11 Men sent out of Antibes, were made Prisoners, and Count Fels the Imperial General join'd the Army with two Regiments of Horse, that had been left behind to secure the March of our Heavy Baggage; and Orders were dispatch'd to the Palatine and Hessian Horse, to hasten their coming up with us.

The 18<sup>th</sup> the Army broke up at Midnight, but that March was so long and toilsom, that it was late in the Evening, before half the Foot came to the Camp appointed near Frejus; and the other half in several Divisions join'd us in the Night; but they were very much fatigued, having hardly found any Water by the Way; and some Men dropt in the Road, choak'd with the extream Heat and Thirst. It was judg'd unsafe by the Council of War, to let the Troops halt that Day in the Hills and narrow Ways, where the Enemy might with ease have incommoded us very much; but we had Intelligence they were retir'd, and had only posted some Forces here and there, to observe our Motions. Hereupon, the Count de Beaufort was sent forward with fifty Horse, to get farther News of the Enemy; and Baron Falkenstein to see a good Quantity of Bread provided.

The 19<sup>th</sup> we rested near Frejus, from whence the Bishop and his Clergy, with the Magistracy, came to invite his Royal Highness to the Episcopal Palace, where he and the rest of the Chief Generals were splendidly entertain'd at the Prelate's Cost. The Bishop of Grace was likewise present; who with that of Frejus, Humbly besought his Royal Highness to give them leave to retire to Aix, because the sacred Habit they were invested with, oblig'd them in a more particular manner to an exact Obedience to their Prince. Which Petition was not only readily complied with, but that of others, who made the same Request; and the Duke of Savoy, to shew his Respect to their Loyalty, presented each of them with his Picture set with Diamonds: He likewise gave farther Tokens of his Lenity; and to shew that he was not come to act among them as an Enemy, he demanded of that City only 30000 Ratians of Bread; and promis'd, that his Army should do no Damage to the Country; having prohibited any of his Troops from cutting down the Trees, upon pain of Death. Here we receiv'd Advice, that a Regiment of Palatine Horse was come to our last Camp at Cones; that our Artillery was arriv'd, not far from thence; and that the Hessian Horse which were left behind, were arriv'd at St. Laurence.

The 20<sup>th</sup>, early in the Morning, the Horse broke up from Frejus, and march'd before; several Soldiers who dropt behind, came in to the Foot. The Hessian Horse and Artillery came that Day to Cones, and we had Intelligence, that a Body of the Enemy were drawing together at

*Grace*, in order to march to *Thoulon*. In the Night, the Foot broke up from *Frejus*; and the 21<sup>st</sup>, when the Day was far spent, reach'd *Arca*; where they found the Horse encamp'd, that had march'd before. That Day, the Party with which the Count *de Beaufort* had been sent out for Intelligence came back, and reported, That the said Count, with some *Hussars*, riding up too near the Enemy, to take a better View of them, was discover'd by them, cut off from the rest of his Party, and taken Prisoner, with nine *Hussars*. In the Night we decamp'd again, and the 22<sup>d</sup> pass'd by *Luc*; and notwithstanding the Weather was so intolerably hot, as to render our March almost impracticable, we continu'd it all this Day. Here our advanc'd Guards gave us notice, that the Enemy's Troops which retir'd from the *Var*, were got to *Thoulon*; and that the Marshal *de Tesse* was drawing a Body together in the Country, on our Right; and that the Marshal had under him, *Monf. Bezors*, Count *d' Aubeterre*, *Monf. Dillon*, and *Monf. Guebriant*; all Persons of great Experience and Reputation: That General *Medavi* was near at hand for his Assistance, with another Body of Regular Forces; and that the Camp, between the City of *Thoulon*, and the inaccessible Mountain of *St. Anne*, in which Camp were 26 Battalions, was fortified by two thousand Pioneers, kept at work Night and Day for that Purpose. This Information was back'd by the Arrival of a Spy, that had found means to get out of *Thoulon*, that 32 Batteries were rais'd for its Defence on the Land-side, on which were 782 Cannons, and 76 Mortars: That it had been judg'd proper to withdraw the Gallies which were in the Mouth of the Harbour, and place in their room arm'd Shalops, which would be more serviceable than the Gallies could be, against Bomb Vessels; and that there were in the Place, besides the Garrison of Regular Land-Troops, 4 Battalions of Marines, and Guards de Marine, and four hundred Sea-Officers at the Head of small Crews of Seamen: That all unnecessary Mouths were order'd to be sent out of the Place; and that Directions were given, to sink the Men of War and other Vessels in the Harbour, rather than let them fall into the Enemy's Hands. However, these Advices no ways discourag'd the Prosecution of his Royal Highness's Designs; and the *Palatine* Horse that join'd at Noon, were order'd to stop at *Luc*, and wait there for the coming of the Artillery.

The 23<sup>d</sup>, after a hard March in the Night, the Army encamp'd at *Pignano*, and two Parties of twelve hundred each, were sent toward *Cuers* and *Pignol*, under the Command of two Colonels, *Pfefferkorn* and *Sibboldorff*; who brought back Intelligence that the Army was retir'd from thence, and that the Marshal *de Tesse* was encamp'd amongst the Hills with about 30 Battalions.

The 24<sup>th</sup> his Royal Highness receiv'd News of fresh Disorders committed by the Foreign Troops under his Command, which were grown so very insolent, that they oblig'd the Peasants to the Hills; and there having taken Arms, they cut off whatever Straglers they met in their Way; which occasion'd another Council of War, wherein, after a Proclamation



tion was issued out for the better Government of the Army ; and publick Notice was given, that whatsoever Officer or Soldier should plunder, or any ways disturb the *Provencals* in the Exercise of their several Vocations, the Punishment should be Immediate Death ; and his Royal Highness apply'd to the several Courts of his Allies, by his Ministers there, that the Auxiliary German Troops in the Duke their Master's Army, might be put without Restriction under his own immediate Command : Which Application was too late ; for tho' Count *Maffey* acquainted the Court of *Berlin*, That Her Britannick Majesty, and the States General had given the entire Command of their Fleets and Armies in those Parts to his Royal Highness, his Master ; and represented to the King of Prussia, that it was highly necessary in this Great Conjunction, that His Majesty's Troops should receive the same Orders ; and his Prussian Majesty thereupon had commanded the Prince of Anhalt Dessau to obey the Duke of Savoy's Orders upon all Occasions, without farther Instructions : Yet the Courier from *Berlin* came so late, that he met the Duke upon the Road, in his return to his own Country, with his Majesty's Dispatches. However, Care was taken to suppress these Insolencies, as much as possible : And the Prussian General caus'd 20 of his Men, among whom were 6 Subalterns, to be immediately shot to-Death at the Head of the Army ; which had little Effect on the Inhabitants of the Country ; for they were driven to Despair, and resolute to make Reprisals on all that should fall into their Hands. Here we rested a whole Day, and were join'd by the *Palatine* and *Hessian* Horse, the Train of Artillery being but a few Hours behind. Two Parties were sent out for Intelligence ; who returning, gave their Report, That they had met no Enemy, but had been inform'd they were got to *Thoulon*. In the Night we march'd again.

And the 25th at Noon came with the Foot to *Cuers*, and the Horse to *Soulicres*. Count *Brauner* was detach'd from the latter with 200 Horse, and 100 *Hussars*, towards *Thoulon* ; and near *la Valette* fell upon a Party of the Enemy, consisting of 150 Regular Soldiers, and 300 Arm'd Peasants ; of whom he kill'd several, and pursued the rest to the very Walls of the Town ; but the Enemy came out so fast upon him, that they made him retire, tho' without any other Damage, than 3 Men kill'd, and 2 wounded. That Day we had several Accounts, that a great Number of the Enemy's Troops were got into *Thoulon* ; that a Detachment of five or six Hundred Men of the Garrison of *Antibes*, had beaten our Guards of 150 *Savoyards*, who made a stout Resistance on the Bridges of the *Var*, and ruin'd them. That the Fortifications of the City, were finish'd, as also the Covert-Way, with its Places of Arms, its Saliant Angles, the *Glacis*, and the *Caponieres*, and that the Marquis *de Sebeille* Commander of a Squadron, was kill'd by a Fall from a Rock, where he was giving Directions for making a Battery. Hereupon, Orders were sent to rebuild the aforesaid Bridges and Reinforcements, to guard them against future Insults.

The 26th the Army came to *la Valette*, where the Head-Quarter was fix'd.

fix'd in a Convent of *Capuchins*, but the Troops encamp'd a little forwarder, within Mile and a half of *Thoulon*. And because several Parties were on the Rising-Grounds, over against which our Right Wing encamp'd, and fir'd on that Wing, some Grenadiers were commanded out to drive them from thence: Which done, the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, attended by the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, *Passau*, and *Saxe-gotha*, went up the Hill to take a View of the Place; and being come to the Highest Ground, they saw the Enemy had posted their Troops in a fortified Place, under the Cannon of the City, with their Right Wing extended to the Town, and their Left to a steep Mountain, inaccessible on the side towards the Country. The Town itself did not appear to be very strong, but it was judg'd we must undergo a mighty Fire, from the numerous Artillery plac'd here and there. That the Enemies Communication could not easily be cut off; and that the Town could not be easily invested because of the Hills about it, before we were Masters of those Eminencies, which Pr. *Eugene* endeavour'd to be possess'd of by a Stratagem; but his Endeavours to get by a Path into the Mountains of the Hill of *St. Anne* with 1200 Grenadiers, was prevented by *M. Guerchois*, who repuls'd our Forces with some Battalions which were posted there. For 3 Days together the Wind had been strong, and we could have no Communication with the Fleet; but the 26th they came to the Island *Hieres*. The 27th several Deserters came over to us, all which agreed in this Information; That the Officers in and without the Town had great Jealousy of each other's Authority: The Messieurs *St. Peter* and *Guerriont* had such a Misunderstanding with one another, that the *Mar-shal de Tesse* was oblig'd to leave the Troops under his Command, and come into the Town and Entrenchments, to regulate the Precedency of the respective Officers: And that the 23d of this Month 7 Battalions arriv'd in *Thoulon*; the 24th 130 others took Post in it; and the 25th the Remainder of the Troops that were to be employ'd in it, came up to its Assistance.

The 27th another View was taken of the Enemy's Camp; and 'twas resolv'd to desire the Admiral of the Fleet and the Flag Officers to assist at a Council of War.

The 28th, we saw the Enemy continue to fortifie themselves, and that some new Troops were got into their Camp. That Day the Governor of the Town *Monf. St. Peter*, sent his Royal Highness a Present of rich Wines and other Refreshments, with a Compliment, That the Town was entrusted to his Hands, that it was stor'd with Provisions, and that he would endeavour to merit his Royal Highness's Esteem, by his Fidelity to his Master's Service, and the Defence he should make in it. The Messengers were dispatch'd with two fine Saddle-Horses for the Governor, and Rewards for themselves, with this Answer; That his Royal Highness always set a high Value upon Gallant Men, and that he would make it his Endeavour to be possess'd of that Place, which he boasted was so notably provided. The same Day the Troops posted on the Hills were reliev'd, and 400 *Prussians* took Post on the Left, where the Enemy had a Fort in a Morass. Admiral *Shovel*, with several



several of the chief Officers of the Fleet, as Vice Admiral *Bing*, Rear-Admiral *Norris*, and Captain *Convent* the Dutch Commadore, came to the Camp, and had a Conference with his Royal Highness and the rest of the Generals at the Head Quarters, where they din'd; after which, that Prince, attended by Prince *Eugene*, and the Generals and Admirals before mention'd, except Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*, rid out of the Camp, and went upon a high Hill, from whence they took a view of *Thoulon* and the Harbour, and consider'd which way they might most conveniently act in concert with the Land Forces. The Duke of *Savoy* being return'd to the Camp, had another Conference with Sir *Cloudesty*, who staid there during his Return, by reason of his being troubled with the Gout; and would by no means be induc'd to venture the Confederate Fleet into the Harbour, as his Royal Highness and the Generals advis'd, till the Forts that guarded it, were in the Possession of the Land Forces. I was of the same Opinion, for such præcipitate Measures might have endanger'd Her Majesties and the States Shipping, which was the Glóry and Bulwark of the whole Confederacy. In this Conference they came to this Resolution, that 3000 Men should be commanded out, to drive the Enemy from an Eminence, that might facilitate our firing upon the Town, Ships and Forts, and on which they had entrench'd themselves with a good Body of Men, after which the Generals return'd home.

On the 29th the Attack was made, and succeeded well; for our Men made themselves Masters of the Eminence, and the *French* retir'd to others, whence they fired briskly on our Men, with little or no Execution. That Day we drew some Light Cannon and two Mortars up the said Eminence, with great difficulty; and the Prince of *Saxegotha*, and General *Zumjungen*, were order'd with 3500 Men to march the 30th at Day break up the Hills, and second Baron *Rhebinder*, and Count *Conigseck*, who were commanded to drive the Enemy from their last fortified Eminence. Deserters reported the same Day that the Enemy had four Battalions and a Regiment of Dragoons come in the Day before into the City, 36 Battalions in their Intrenchments, and that large Detachments were coming from *Spain*, *Germany*, *Lauguedoc* and *Flanders*, to their Assistance. One of them brought likewise the Speech which Monsieur *St. Peter* had the Vanity to make to the Officers under his Command, at the Receipt of his Commission from Court. Which I shall subjoin in this Place, as a Piece of Ostentation that deserves Remark, and was as follows.

Gentlemen, I have had the Honour to sustain two Sieges; I commanded only Soldiers, and came off victoriously. The King my Master has made choice of me to command in this Place. By this Choice, I have the Honour to command 800 Officers. I do not tell you, that if *Thoulon* were no more, and that if the Ships were burn'd, you would no longer be Officers, and that you would lose the Advantages you gain by being so. Without this Reflection, I depend on your Bravery, and have reason to hope, that seeing I command such gallant Officers, I shall not leave *Thoulon*, but with the greatest Glory. At least, if so good Fortune be

not reserv'd for me, I shall have the Honour of burying my Bones under the Ruins of this Town, for the Service of the King my Master.

In the Evening, we saw they drew some Cannon up the last mention'd Eminence or Hill. The 30th aforesaid, 3500 Men march'd out of our Camp, and advancing through a Defile, where only two of them could March abreast, before Day break attack'd the Enemy, and were seconded by 3500 more, so that the *French* were soon driven from their Post on the Hill, and one of their principal Officers was seen to fall. Our Men advanc'd immediately from thence to another Post on the Hill of *St. Catherine*, on the top of which the Enemy had intrench'd themselves, fortified a House, and made a Battery of four Pieces of Cannon, upon which they made a great Fire upon our Troops. The Attack succeeded beyond Expectation; for a Grenado falling amongst their Powder, the *French* run away in the utmost Confusion, and left their Cannon and four Colours; insomuch, that the taking of that important Post, cost but ten Men kill'd, and 16 wounded, though the Generals were afraid that they should lose great Numbers in that Attack. The same Day, the Weather being very good, so as not to hinder the Confederate Fleet from coming near to the Shore, Sir *Cloudefley Shovel* order'd 12 Twenty four Pounders to be landed from a Bay Eastward of *Tboulon*, and where the Ships rid safely near *Hieres*, with 200 Balls for each, and a suitable Quantity of Ammunition, and all other Necessaries, while Capt. *Convent* at the same time caus'd 8 eighteen Pounders to be landed out of the *Dutch* Squadron with Powder and Bullets for 200 Shots apiece.

The 31st nothing material happen'd, but the Arrival of the aforesaid Artillery in our Camp, and augmenting the Number of the Troops that had made a Lodgment on the Mount of *St. Catherine*, except fresh Complaints from the adjacent Country, that the Soldiers had committed Great Disorders at *Souliers*, *Cuers* and *Luc*, notwithstanding the severe Orders given out by his Royal Highness, forbidding the same, and the Protection he had given them, which made Bread rise, and all sort of Provisions extraordinary dear, and many Soldiers to desist on account of the great Scarcity. To hinder this, a Proclamation was immediately issued out, with a Reward of 20 Pistoles for any Soldier that should be taken plundering or morroding. Whereupon the Peasants brought in twenty, who were immediately hang'd for an Example to others.

The 1st of *August* several Deserters came over to us, who reported, that the *French* King, by a publick Edict, had exempted the *Provençals* from Taxes for 7 Years, in order to keep them firm in their Obedience, and that they had Provision and Ammunition in the Town for four Months. They likewise added, that the Misunderstandings continued between the *French* Officers, and that the young Count *de Thesse*, and Monsieur *de Guerchois*, had been posted by the *Mareschal de Thesse*, with



4 Battalions, and as many Pieces of Cannon on Mount *St. Catherine*, with Orders to retire into the Town, if the Enemy attack'd them on the Left, and endeavour'd to cut off their Retreat. That accordingly being attack'd in the Front, they made a vigorous Resistance, but seeing our Troops wheel to the Left, the Count *de Thesse* told Monsieur *Guerchois* his Father's Order, which the latter not yielding to, and affirming that the Post might be maintain'd four Days longer; the Count shew'd him his Father's Orders, which the other was forc'd to comply with. Monsieur *Guerchois* being met by Monsieur *Guebriant* in his Retreat, and ask'd in a reproachful manner, why he had quitted his Post, return'd so disobliging an Answer, that the other order'd him to be put under Arrest. But the Marshal *de Thesse* coming, he reprimanded Monsieur *Guebriant* for what he had done, and set Monsieur *Guerchois* at Liberty. We were not without Hopes, that these Differences among the commanding Officers, would be instrumental in the Reduction of the Town.

The 2<sup>d</sup> we had Advice, that two of the Enemies Vessels had taken two of our Barks, which were separated from the Confederate Fleet, on Board of which were Physicians, Surgeons, and Bakers; and we employ'd our selves in turning the Course of the Water, which serv'd the Corn Mills of *Thoulon*. The same Day our Posts were reliev'd, and reinforced, and the working on the Line and Batteries was continued; and we had Advice that 6 of the Enemies Battalions detach'd from *Brabant*, came by *Lyons* the 15<sup>th</sup> of the last Month, that the Reinforcement from Marshal *Villars* were in a full March, and that the Duke of *Berwick* was expected in *Provence*, from the Frontiers of *Catalonia*.

The 3<sup>d</sup> the Enemy fired very hard all Day, from all their Cannon on the Right and Left, by which our Works received some Damage, but it was immediately repair'd; and on the Verge of the Hill a Battery was directed to be made, and Men were put to work hard upon it, because the Enemy could attack us then with more Force. The Batteries towards the Sea side, that is to say, one of 16 Guns, and another of 3 Mortars were that Day finish'd, and another of six 24 Pounders begun. The Battery on the Hill was carried on but heavily, because the Necessaries for it, landed by the Fleet, were to be fetch'd five *French Miles*, yet that did not discourage us in the least, but we hastned all we could to get ready.

The 4<sup>th</sup> in the Night the Enemy made a Sally with 200 Men, under the Command of the Marquis *de Saily*, which at first put our Workmen into Disorder, but were soon repuls'd. On our side, a Lieutenant and 17 Soldiers were killed or wounded in the Action: Of the Enemy, the *Chevalier Palestre* a Lieutenant Colonel and 36 private Centinels were left dead upon the spot; and besides, those that retired carried off their wounded with them.

The 5<sup>th</sup>, our Batteries were for the most part compleated, and we labour'd that Day, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> a work to cover it, which was begun

on the Left, and the like was done on the Right, and a Line projected to be made before them along the Hill, to make a Communication between both those Works.

The 7th our Batteries were entirely perfected, and we began to fire upon a Man of War in the Harbour, which annoyed us very much, and against a Fort on the Sea-side. The 8th we join'd our Works to cover our Batteries, and Orders were given to augment them on the Right. Colonel *Pfefferkorn*, who was retired to the Camp, was ordered out with 200 Horse to get Forage in the Mountains which was very scarce, and had several Skirmishes with Detachments of the Enemy and the Boors, who killed 23 of his Men. However, he brought in with him a great Quantity of Forage, and Colonel *St. Amour* with 400 Foot, and 200 Horse, was sent to exhort the Country People to lay down their Arms, and return to their own Homes. The Enemy made a great Fire from their Batteries, and as the Duke of *Savoy* was returning on the 8th from viewing the Batteries and Approaches, the Marquis *de Sales*, first Master of the Horse to his Royal Highness, was kill'd by a Cannon Ball very near him. The same Day Order was given to erect two new Batteries of 20 Pieces of heavy Cannon each, but this proved a very toilsome Work, because we could find no Earth to cover the Men.

The 2th, 120 Gunners from the *English* Fleet, and 40 from the *Dutch*, came ashore to attend the Batteries, which were carried on with all possible Expedition. The same Day the *French* made a Sally, but our Troops being on their Guard, they retir'd with the Loss of 130 Men.

The 10th, we saw the Enemy bringing another Man of War as near the Shore as they could, to batter our Camp, and they made that Day a prodigious Fire. Deserters that came in that Day told us, that the *French* were reinforced the 7th, with 6 Battalions from the *Netherlands*, and that Day by 15 others; so that the Enemy had in their Intrenchments, or at *Aubagne*, 60 Battalions, besides 6 others towards *Brignoles*, under the Command of Monsieur *Medavi*; and we had Advice, that the latter was to march with a strong Detachment of Horse and Foot towards *Grace*, to possess the Defiles, in order to cut off our Retreat. Upon this Advice, General *Feltz* was detach'd the 11th with 1200 Horse towards *Brignoles*, to observe the Motions of the Enemy, and to cover our Foragers, who had several unlucky Skirmishes with the Boors, and other *French* Parties.

The 12th, Orders were given to erect new Batteries nearer the Town, the former being too far to make a Breach, and 90 Pieces of Cannon were landed from the Fleet, to be plac'd on the said Batteries.

The 13th, the Confederate Fleet came to an Anchor in the Road, and a Squadron under Rear-Admiral *Dilks*, forc'd the Enemy to abandon a Battery of 10 Guns, which they nail'd, and our Men seeing they were useless, flung them into the Sea. The same Day the *French* brought two other Ships within the Bay, and fir'd upon our Works with above 150 Pieces.



Pieces of Ordnance. They batter'd our Lines from another Battery of 40 Pieces, and were busied in erecting another upon a Hill. Deserters reported that the Marshal *Thesse* came into the Intrenchments the 11th, and assur'd the Generals that he should shortly be joined by 40 Battalions and 55 Squadrons.

The 14th some Ships from the Fleet approach'd nearer to the Road, to shut up the City closer, and we began to batter Fort St. *Louis* with extraordinary Success. At the same time we had Intelligence, that the Enemy had form'd some Design on our Posts, by a Spy that had been in their Camp, whereupon (besides four Battalions, who some Days before were posted on our Right) 3 Battalions of *Prussians* were placed on our Left, with express Order to be watchful, and to act as they should find Occasion. We had an Account likewise that the brave Colonel *Pfefferkoorn*, who was sent out for Intelligence with two Officers and six *Hussars*, had fallen into an Ambush of the Enemy, and was seen to fall off from his Horse, but 'twas not known whether he was killed or taken Prisoner. The Night between the 14th and 15th the Enemy were very quiet; but at break of Day the 15th, some Colours were perceiv'd, which were suppos'd to be Signals made for some Enterprize, by the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, who immediately sent his Adjutants (it being his Turn to command that Day in the Works, as Lieutenant General of the Emperour, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the States General) to his Royal Highness for Reinforcements, since the Enemy were going to attack him, and dispos'd his Men into good Order, and encourag'd them to acquit themselves worthily. It was half an Hour before any thing more appear'd; but then on a sudden and unexpectedly, the Enemies came from the Hills with most of their Forces, consisting of all the Grenadiers, with one half of their Army, in three several Bodies, which broke in upon the Troops under his Highnesses Command, by 3 several ways, under the *Marshal de Thesse*, and the Lieutenant-Generals, *Dillon* and *Guebriant*. The Nature of the Ground having not permitted us to make any Redoubts to cover our Works, as it was intended, the chief Assault was given to our Posts on the Right, which we judg'd could not possibly be maintain'd, because our Advanc'd Guards on the Hill (who were to have given us Notice of the Enemies Approach) had been surpriz'd, and our Posts were not only attack'd in Front, but in Flank and Rear. The Enemies were at first receiv'd very bravely, but our Men being over-power'd by Numbers, fell into some Disorder. The Prince of *Saxe-Gotha* put them into Order again, and animated them by his Presence and his Words, led them on to the Enemy, whose Number increasing continually, our Troops, who could not be supported, were broken a second time. The Prince finding his Efforts to rally them once more did not avail, turn'd to 30 Men, most Officers that stuck to him, and said, *Friends, 'tis more honourable to perish here, than have it said, the Prince of Saxe-Gotha was beaten out of his Works.* Presently after his Highness receiving a Shot under the Left Eye through his Head, and another in his Pody, drop'd dead

on the Ground. Most that kept with him fell likewise on the Spot, but Colonel *Weidman* of the *Saxe-Gothans* was taken, and Colonel *Prassigard* of the *Piedmontois*. Yet notwithstanding the unfortunate and lamented Death of his Incomparable Prince, a *Cassine*, and a small Fort at the bottom of the Hill of *St. Catharine*, where the *Hessian* Colonel *Sibelsdorf* commanded, made a long and noble Defence, and some Troops were detach'd from the Camp to support him; but it being pretty far thither, the Enemy, by their great Numbers, forc'd our Posts before those Troops could come up. The Attack on the Left was as vigorous, as that on the Right, but was not made with so great a Number of Men, nor had the like Success, for the Enemy was so well receiv'd by the 3 Battalions of *Prussians* posted there, that they were repuls'd with great Loss. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, not a little contributed to the Defence of our Posts on that Wing, his Highness causing 2 Regiments of his Dragoons to dismount, and with all Expedition, advancing with them in Person. The Enemy having, as is said, made themselves Masters of our Intrenchments on the Right, surrounded Colonel *Pfefferkorn's* Detachment in the Hills; but a *Palatine* Officer, who took upon him the Command of that Detachment, after the Death of the said Colonel (of which we had certain Advice) found a way by which to retire; yet when he was got up the Hill was attack'd in his Rear, but lost only a few Men; for Count *Harach*, with six Battalions and some Horse, came in to his Assistance, and brought him off. The Enemy caus'd at the same time some Troops to climb the Hill of *Earen*, to attack our Right Wing on that side, but seeing some Battalions in Motion against them, they retired, and having set our Works on Fire (in the making of which, we had been forc'd to use much Wood, for want of Earth) and nail'd 4 Iron Cannon, and 2 little ones of Brass, they abandon'd the Posts they had retaken, being not able to keep them. During this Action, the Enemy made such a terrible Fire from the Town and Men of War, and threw so many Bombs, that the Generals say they never saw the like. We had about 600 Men kill'd and wounded, and amongst them several Officers; the Loss of the Enemy could not be less than ours. Prince *Eugene* was in great Danger of his Life, for a Bomb falling by him, and bursting at the same time, cover'd him with Stones; but thanks be to God, he was not wounded. His Nephew, Prince *Maurice*, who was by him, had his Horse wounded; but no General Officer was kill'd or wounded in this Action, but the brave Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, whose Bowels were buried in the Place where he fell so gloriously, and whose Carcass was embalm'd and sent Aboard to be carried to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Germany*, to be intomb'd with his Illustrious Ancestors.

The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*, seeing the Impossibility to Besiege *Tboulon*, did not think fit to repossess the Post of *St. Catharine*, because the Enemy might have easily retaken it, but continued the Attack of the Forts, and that of *St. Margarets* surrender'd the 10th at Night.

The



The Garrison consisting of 120, besides 16 Officers were made Prisoners of War, and we found therein 8 Iron Guns, and 9 Brass Demy-Culverins.

Colonel *Pfefferkorn*, and Quarter-Master-General *Nicholetti*, were sent out on the Right with a Detachment of Horse, to see how many Men were necessary to secure a certain Post, and cover our Army on that Wing, and also to get Intelligence, whether the City could be approach'd on the other side; and the 20 heavy Cannon landed from the Fleet by Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, were order'd to be plac'd on the Hill we had taken, with all Expedition, and the Workmen that were appointed to level the Ways, and make them even, wrought hard, that the Artillery might be drawn thither, and Batteries rais'd; but they met with great Difficulties, by reason the Ground was so Stony, they could not use their Shovels.

The same Day Prince *Eugene* himself march'd with 4 Companies of Grenadiers to join Colonel *Pfefferkoorn*, who kept Abroad with the same Number to observe the Enemy; and his Royal Highness had Letters from General *Visconti* in *Savoy*, than the *French* had sent all the Troops they had there into *Provence*. The Enemy seeing the Men that were coming under the Command of Prince *Eugene* on our Right, appear'd in several Divisions on the Hills, and posted Troops in the Vale, where they entrench'd themselves. We drew a Line on the Hill we had taken, to the Left, and work'd hard upon the Batteries, which took us up a longer time, because we were forc'd to fetch the Earth from a great Distance. Towards the Sea-side 2 Batteries were likewise begun, from whence we might Fire, not only on the City, but likewise on the Arm'd Ships in the Harbour, from whence the Enemy fir'd hard upon us.

The 16th, 2 *English* Men of War and 1 *Dutch*, were commanded to batter Fort *Louis*, but the Wind was so violent, and the Sea ran so very high, that only one of the *English* Ships came near enough to Fire, which they did, without any great Success. The Enemy made a great Discharge of their Artillery upon that Ship, whereby her Sprizzen-Mast was brought by the Board, several Men were Killed and Wounded, and she was forc'd to be Tow'd off, or she had been mightily exposed to the Fire of the said Fort. The same Day his Royal Highness sent his Desires to the Admiral of the Fleet, to enter the Harbour, if possible; which were complied with so far, that the Enemy seeing their Design, began to cast up some Works on the side of the *Peninsula*, and posted there 3 chosen Battalions. In the Night time we began to bombard the City from our Land Batteries, and set it on Fire in several Places. The Day before the Wind was so violent, that the Ship, on Board of which Sir *George Bing* had hoisted his Flag, lost her Anchors, and fell foul on a *Dutch* Man of War, which receiv'd thereby some Damage; and his Royal Highness having called a Council, wherein the Sea Officers assisted, was pleas'd to say, *That having receiv'd certain Advice, that the*  
French

French had 60 Battalions in Thoulon, and in the Entrenchments, besides the Cavalry, which was very numerous, and several Battalions posted at Touris, 7 Miles from thence, under Count Medavi, that they expected a farther Reinforcement in 4 or 5 Days, and that all those Troops were to join and attack our Army, which was very much Inferiour, wherefore he judged it impracticable to carry on our Enterprize, as it had been concerted. He was pleased to add farther, That this Disappointment should not in the least abate his Zeal for the Confederate Interest, but rather push him forward to the Prosecution of Designs, as hazardous and glorious, as this was. In the mean time, He could not but mention with Regret, the Disorders that had been committed by the Prussians and other German Troops, but hop'd their Respective Officers had, in pursuance of his Representations, by that time so settled the Command, as to prevent Accidents of the like Nature for the Future. After this he apply'd himself to the Admiral and the rest of the Sea Officers, and told them ; He should always retain a just Sense of, and Value for the Queen of Great Britain, and the States-General's Friendship in sending him such a Powerful Assistance by Sea and Land ; and that, as the Wind and the Waves were subject to no ones Authority, but the great Director of all Humane Affairs, so he could not but declare the Operations at Sea had been carried on with that Diligence and Success, as could possibly be expected from the Roughness of the Seas, and Inclemency of the Weather. To conclude, He gave his Thanks to all the Generals, for having done what was humanly possible in that Conjuncture : and turning to Sir Cloudesly Shovel, applied himself to him, with particular Marks of his Gratitude, leaving his Desires with him, That he would continue to do what he could against the Town by Sea, whilst he took care to Ship of his Sick and Wounded, and the heavy Baggage and Artillery belonging to the Army.

The Admiral made his Royal Highness Assurances in the Name of the Queen, his Mistress, That nothing would be wanting on Her Part, to render his future Designs as successful as they were glorious ; and that he would not only shew his Ready Obedience to what his Royal Highness then thought fit command him, but should make it his Endeavour, during the Prosecution of the War, while the Queen should be graciously pleas'd to honour him with the Posts he was now possessed of, to merit his Royal Highnesses Favour, by a Conduct suitable to what he had been pleas'd to distinguish by his Royal Approbation.

The 17th we began to withdraw our Cannon, in order to be again ship'd-off ; we made also the necessary Dispositions to Embark our Sick and Wounded. The same Day, a pretty wide Breach was made in Fort St. Louis, and the Enemy wrought upon a Battery on their last Tower, to hinder the Approach of our Fleet. At the same time, our Bombs had set Fire to several Houses in the City. Count Bawer beat a Party of the Enemy from a Port call'd *la Vall*, and Colonel St. Amour brought in a Lieutenant and 12 Soldiers Prisoners ; and we receiv'd Advice, that Baron de Regal was on the Mount to join us with some Regiment detach'd from the Body commanded by General Visconti in Piedmont ; but that he was not, at the coming away of the Courier, arriv'd at Nizza. Where-



Whereupon a Courier was dispatch'd back to the said Baron, with Orders to Halt, for his Royal Highness's farther Pleasure.

The 18<sup>th</sup> a View was taken, to see whether the Breach in Fort *Louis* was large enough for a Storm; and it being found practicable, and Dispositions made for an Assault, Baron *Rhebinder*, Field-Marshal-General, caus'd the Grenadiers that were commanded out for that Service, to advance on the 19<sup>th</sup>; but the Enemy abandon'd the Port in Disorder, and with *Monf. Dillon* their chief Officer, had sav'd themselves in Shalops after some Cannon-shot. Our Men entring the Fort, found in it 23 Pieces of Cannon, most of 38 Pound Ball, and some Ammunition, with a good Number of Bullets and Bombs; 1500 Catouches, 40 Barrels of Powder, and several Matches burning, which they put out. They had likewise thrown into the Sea 26 Pieces of Cannon of the same Bore, with a great Number of Bullets; but the Water was so very low, that they were easily fish'd up. The same Day the Adjutants that return'd from the Rendezvous between the 2 Camps, to treat of an Exchange of Prisoners, reported that they had agreed to make an Exchange the next Day, and that the Enemy would send us ours, and fetch their own. They likewise added, that they had learn'd, that Marshal *de Tesse* expected the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, and *Berwick*: that *M. d'Arches* was coming to join them with some Battalions from *Roussillon*; and that on the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant, the Marshal would have 100 Battalions in his Camp, where he had 70 already. The Enemy continued their Works on the Point, where stands the great Tower, and begun to make Entrenchments on the side of *St. Catherine*; and Count *Feltz* having sent Notice that Count *Medavi* seem'd to have form'd a Design to attack him, 10 Battalions, and 15 Squadrons were sent to reinforce him.

The 20<sup>th</sup>, the rest of our Artillery and Ammunition was ordered to be embark'd before Night; and that Day one of the Enemies Bombs fell into Fort *Louis*, and set Fire to a Mine that had been made on purpose to blow up that Fort, when it should be judg'd convenient. Only 3 of our Soldiers were wounded on this Occasion; they that guarded that Fort retiring in time, and we receiv'd Advice by a Deserter, that the Enemy were raising a new Battery, that all the Inhabitants of the Country had taken up Arms against us, and that the Peasants were drawing together from all Parts.

The 21<sup>st</sup>, We made the necessary Dispositions for the March of our Army, and blew up Fort *St. Margaret*. At the same time the Fleet drew nearer to the Place, with some Bomb Vessels, and began to bombard the Town and Ships in the Harbour very vigorously, by setting fire to the great Magazine of Cordage, quite ruining the Episcopal Palace and several other stately Edifices; as also destroying 8 Men of War, called *Le Triumphant* of 82 Guns, *Le Sceptre* 90, *Le Vanquier* 86, *Le Neptune* 76, *L'Invincible* 70, *Le Serieux* 60, *Le Laurier* 60, *Le Sage* 54; which was answer'd by a great Fire from the Enemies Batteries. The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* went to the top of a Hill, that they might

might the better take a view of the Fire caus'd from the Bombs from the Fleet. They saw a Conflagration, but could not well distinguish the Greatness of the Damage sustained by it, tho Deserters let us into the fore-mention'd Particulars. General *Feltz* sent Advice that Count *Medavi* had been join'd by 9 Battalions from the *Mareschal de Theffe*, and that 6 Battalions more were coming to join him at *St. Maximin*; upon which a strong Detachment was sent him, in order to enable him to make head against the Enemy.

In the Night between the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup>, the Army quitted the Camp at *Valette*, and march'd in 5 Columns, taking the same Rout we did to come to *Thoulon*. The Retreat was made with so much Secrecy, and in so good Order, that the Enemy had not the least Notice of our Decampment, nor was any thing left in our Camp, that could be of any Use to the Enemy. We arriv'd the following Day at *Cuers*.

The Fire caused by the Bombs in *Thoulon*, lasted all the former Night, and that in the Harbour burn'd with great Violence; and we understood by Count *Bielk*, who return'd from making an Exchange of Prisoners, that 8 Ships were seen burning, as above-mentioned, and that 160 Houses were seen in Flames.

The 22<sup>d</sup> of *August* the Cavalry continued their March, and the Moon rising soon after, the Infantry were sent the same Rout.

The whole Army arriv'd the 23<sup>d</sup> near *Pignans*, except the Troops under General *Feltz*, who were order'd to stay at *Luc*, to cover our Rear. That Day we still heard Firing at *Thoulon*, occasion'd by our bombarding the Town and Shipping from the Fleet.

The 24<sup>th</sup>, the Army encamped on this side the River *Argent*, Major General *Gravensdorf*, who had halted behind with some Regiments, join'd us, and reported, that the Peasants had assured him, that the Enemy were marching by the Mountains, with four Regiments of Dragoons, and some Battalions. Upon which Major General *St. Remy* was order'd to march before towards *Frejus*, with all the Grenadiers, to possess himself of the Post of *Esterelle*. Orders were sent the same Day to General *Regal*, who with some Regiments had been detach'd from the Body under General *Visconti* to return into *Piedmont*.

The 25<sup>th</sup>, the Army reach'd *Frejus*, where General *Feltz* join'd us. Here the Peasants inform'd us, that the above-mentioned Detachment of the Enemy had Orders to gain the Post of *Esterelle*.

The 26<sup>th</sup> General *Feltz* marched before with his Body towards *Cones*, and at 10 at Night the Infantry of the Left Wing follow'd him. The March was troublesome by reason of the Woods and Defiles, where the Enemy might have found us Employment, but for the great Diligence of General *St. Remy*, who prevented them by posting himself there. The Peasants, who to the Number of 4 or 500 were got together, fired upon our Men, but we killed 20 of them, and took some others Prisoners; whom we afterwards set at Liberty, with a Message to the rest of their Country-men, that if they would not lay down their Arms, all should be put to Fire and Sword.

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The Night between the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, the Infantry that marched first reach'd the Post-House, situate on a Hill in the Woods, and at Day-break continued their March towards *Cones*, where all Arriv'd in the Evening, with the Loss of only 4 or 5 Men, such good Precaution had been taken to defend them from the Enemy. There 'twas reported that Count *Medavi* was pursuing us with his Body, and that Marschal *de Theffe* was marching towards *Grace* with his main Army.

The 28<sup>th</sup> we rested at *Cones* where the Courtiers arrived that his Royal Highness had dispatch'd to the *Hague* and *Berlin*, concerning the Command of the Army, gave him an Account of his Envoy's Negotiations at both those Courts, to his Royal Highness's Satisfaction; but Lieutenant Colonel *Eben* was detach'd towards *Grace* with 300 Horse to observe the Enemy, and he possess'd himself of one of the Gates of that Place without any Difficulty, tho the Burghers had taken Arms to oppose him. General *Feltz* marched towards *Antibes* at the same time, to block it up.

The 29<sup>th</sup> the Army continued their March, and arrived at *Piot*.

The 36<sup>th</sup> we came to *St. Lawrence*. A Regiment of Dragoons, that the Enemy had in *Antibes*, came out of the Place to attempt our Rear Guard; but found it impracticable, because they were block'd up close by General *Feltz*, who retired after he had seen the whole Army safe past the *Var*, with his Body consisting of the two Brigades of *Conigseck* and *Zumjungen*, two Regiments of Horse and Dragoons of *Saxe-Gotha*, and two Regiments of *Hussars*. He was ordered to march towards *Esteraine*, and the Army is about to follow him in several Columns. The Officer who commanded in the Castle of *St. Paul*, of which we took possession at our Entrance into *Provence*, receiv'd orders to blow it up, and rejoin us, which was executed accordingly. After which the Duke of *Savoy*, with 42 Squadrons, and all the Grenadiers (the rest having pass'd that River) pass'd the *Var*, tho the Marschal *Theffe* was no further from him than *Cugne*, about a League distance, with 50 Companies of *Grenadiers* and 8 Regiments of Dragoons.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of *September* the Army lay encamp't on the other side of the River to rest themselves, after such continu'd hard Marches.

The 2<sup>d</sup>, Orders were sent to the Garrison of *Nice*, to withdraw from that Port, and to join the Army; which the Duke of *Savoy* made a General Review of; and having examin'd the Commissa-

ries Rolls, found it to be diminish'd no more than 6000 Men, by the Sword, Sickneſs and Deſertion, not including the Deſerters that came from the Enemy to us. The ſame Day the Fleet, which had caſt Anchor in the Port of *Nice* from the 30<sup>th</sup> paſt, divided it ſelf into two Squadrons, and ſet ſail, one for *Final* with the Sick and Wounded and Artillery, the other for *Barcelona* with 6000 Men for the Service of King *Charles* in *Catalonia*.

The 3<sup>d</sup>. we continued our March, when the Duke of *Savoy* left the Command of the Foreign Troops to Prince *Eugene*, and went with his own Forces and Retinue, directly for *Turin*, to give Orders for further Reinforcements, and Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtance.

Prince *Eugene* with his Troops paſſ'd the *Coll de Tende* on the 14<sup>th</sup>, when he was given to underſtand that the *M. de Theſſe* had been to viſit *Villa Franca* and *Nice*, where he left in Garrifon the *Swiſs* Regiment of *Caſtelas*, conſiſting of 3 Battalions, and then went back to *Antibes*, having diſtributed his Infantry in *Provence*, *Dauphiny* and *Savoy*, and ſent one part of his Cavalry to *Azles* to eat up the Forage laid up there, and the reſt to the Camp at *Sablom* in *Dauphiny*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, with whom the Britiſh Envoy, and my ſelf, decamp'd from the reſt of the Army on the 3<sup>d</sup>, took his way through the Mountains of *Fenestre*; and from thence, thro' the Valley of *St. Martin*, by which *Rout*, his Troops were Ordered to march after him. We reach'd *Turin* by the 9<sup>th</sup>, from whence, after a ſhort ſtay of 24 Hours, during which time, he held an Extraordinary Council, in Order to concert farther Projects for the reſt of the Campaign, and being promis'd all Neceſſary Supplies from his Subjects; his Capital having relolv'd to advance 500000 Crowns, by way of Loan. He returned to the Army which he joyn'd on the 10<sup>th</sup>, and was to have aſſembled at *Vigan* on the 14<sup>th</sup>, but the Troops only took that Place in their way to *Scaleno*, which was appointed for the Rendezvouz of the Dukes Forces. Prince *Eugene* came to *Savigliano* on the 14<sup>th</sup> with the Rear, as did the Duke of *Wirtembergh* the next Day, to aſſiſt at a Council of War, to conſult about ſome Projects to be Executed, before the End of the Campaign, which terminated in the Attack of *Perouſe* and *Suſa*. The firſt Line of our Army the 17<sup>th</sup>, and took the *Rout* of the Valley of *Suſa*: His Royal Highneſs



Highness followed with the rest on the 18<sup>th</sup>, after having heard that 60 heavy Canon were on their March towards him, with 3 Regiments of Dragoons from *Turin*. The Duke march'd directly for *Perouse*, and the Prince for *Susa*, in order to attack both Places.

The 19<sup>th</sup>, which is the Day that closes this Journal, we received certain Advice, that the Enemy was in great Consternation at our March, and that the *Marschal de Theffe* had been in *Susa*, and had provided it with all Necessaries to make a Vigorous Defence, having Garrison'd it with 3500 Men. At the same Time, we received the Particulars of the Enemies Loss in *Provence*, which amounted to 3400 Men, besides Sick, and Wounded, and Deserters, which were Computed at 4200 more. The Destruction of their Olive Trees and Vineyards, the Pillage of their Houses, and the Depredations Committed on their Lands by both Armies, was said to be incredible, and the List of their Damages, an Exact Survey of which was taken by Monsieur *de Grignan* the King's Intendant, amounted to no less a Sum than 21 Millions of Livres.

Thus have I given your Excellency, the true Posture of our Affairs on this side, and your Excellency cannot but judge, from the Influence this Expedition of ours, though rendred Abortive, has had upon the Affairs of *Europe*, of what Consequence it would have been had the Detachment for *Naples* been Countermanded; which Measures of the Court of *Vienna* utterly broke ours, and put a stop to the greatest Design that ever was put in Execution. This mysterious Management of that positive Court, has received all the Complaints, that were made some Months ago against them, and by unseasonable Diversion, has warded off the most Fatal Blow that ever was design'd against *France*, and expos'd *Spain*, the *Empire*, and perhaps the Imperial Dignity to a Visible Danger.

It's plain, beyond Contradiction, that the *French* would have march'd into *Bavaria*, and reduced most part of *Catalonia*, had not the Expedition of the Duke of *Savoy* into *Provence*, obliged the Duke of *Orleans* and the *Marschal de Villars* to weaken their Armies by Detachments. And it's no less certain, on the other hand, that the Imperial Troops in *Piedmont*, were so very much weakned, by the Detachments made for *Naples*, that the Duke of *Savoy* would not have endeavour'd to march into *France* with a little

little Army, if the pressing Dangers of *Spain* and the Empire had not absolutely required a powerful Diversion. The Success of the Enterprize has not quite answer'd our Expectations; but I hope now most of the Particulars are exactly known, it will be acknowledged that the *French* have suffered very much.

This was a great and noble Project, and tho it has in some measure disappointed our Hopes, it is very glorious to the Princes who concerted it. It required such vast Preparations, that 'tis wonderful *France* had no Suspicion of it; which shews with what great Secrecy the same was managed. Nothing was neglected to secure the Execution, and Accidents were, as far as possible, foreseen and prevented. In short, it must be own'd that the Project was well contrived, the Preparations for its Execution managed with all possible Secrecy and Industry, and the Execution attempted with unparallel'd Vigour and Resolution. This is all that Mortal Men can do, and the rest must be left to Providence, which orders all things as it pleases, and disposes of Events as it thinks most suitable to the Government of the Universe.

This is all that offers it self at present from our Quarters, which makes me take my leave of your Excellency, in hopes that my next will give you an account of the Surrender of *Susa*, and that I shall have another opportunity to write my self

Your Excellency's most obedient Servant, V—r.

F I N I S.

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Just Published,

**E***Nthusiastick Impostors, No Divinely inspired Prophets*: Being an Historical Relation of the Rise, Progress and present Practices of the French and English pretended Prophets. Wherein all their Agitations Extasies, Inspirations, Pretences to Working Miracles, are proved false counterfeit and ridiculous Impostures; by Observations and Testimonies under the Hand-writing of several Persons of known and undoubted Reputation, who were Eye and Ear Witnesses of their Transactions Humbly dedicated to the Lord Bishop of *London*. Sold by J. Morphew, near Stationers Hall.